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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1932

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**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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HISTORICAL DISPUTE WITH YUGOSLAVIA REPORTED

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 28 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by Zakhari Kotsev and Aleksandur Boyanov: "Another Forged Document from Skopje"; for BTA summary of this article see FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 188, 29 September 1981, p C8]

[Text] Write whatever you like; the clean sheet of paper you write on can't tell the difference. . .

A number of Skopje authors have long since proved this. They have written posthumous congratulatory telegrams in the name of the famous commander of the Khristo Botev military partisan battalion, Dicho Petrov. The infringements in Skopje upon the relics and personal documents of outstanding Bulgarians such as voivode Dimitur pop Georgiev Berovski from the village of Berovo (Vardar Macedonia) who were active participants in the struggle for national liberation did not begin yesterday. The voivode's descendants, aggrieved by the odious attempt to take his Bulgarian name away from him, responded scathingly in POGLED [Look] (No. 52 of 29 December 1980). We need not mention the systematic misappropriation of Bulgarian public, scientific and cultural figures of the near and distant past, of poets. . .

And now, lo and behold, we encounter another instance which in its uniqueness is worthy of the annals of international criminology.

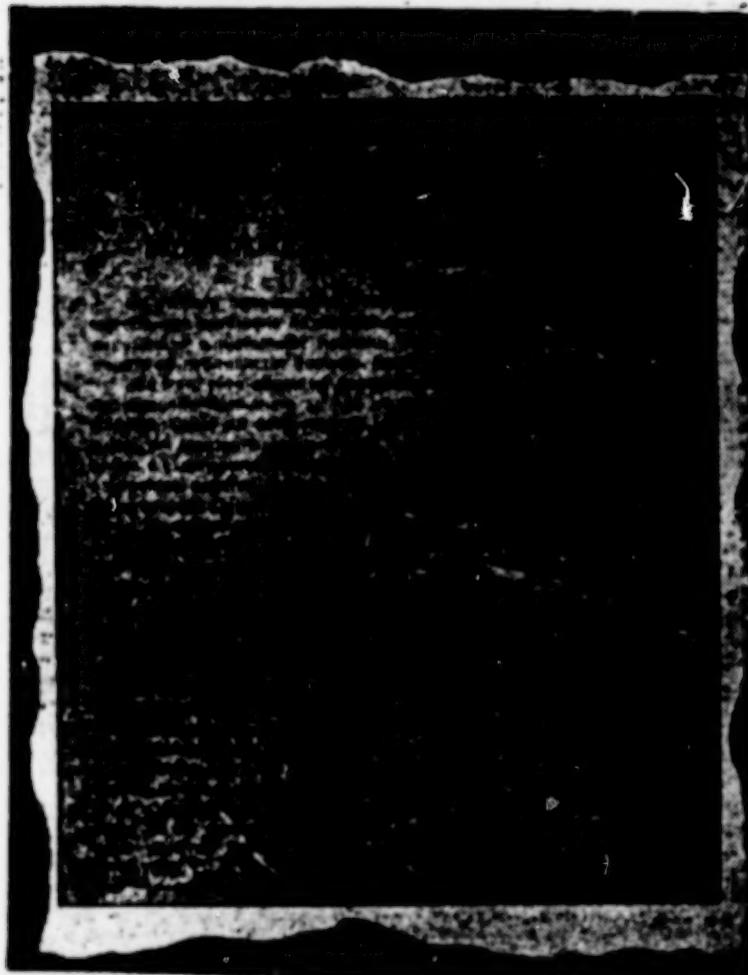
The magazine MAKEDONIA [Macedonia], a publication of the so-called Little Mother [Matitsa] of Exiles from Macedonia which is circulated abroad, published in issue No. 334 of 1981 on page 11 "authentic" material headlined, "To the Detriment of the Macedonian People."

We translate the material into standard Bulgarian:

In the second half of the last century French public opinion called attention to the Macedonian question. The influential Parisian newspaper JOURNAL DE PARIS expressed this point of view through the pen of publicist (Voitenaine). The newspaper writes, "Unfortunately, all attempts of the Balkan people to come to an agreement are unavailing. The reason for this lack of agreement can be easily explained. Each of these nations laying claim to

Macedonia has had its golden age in the past when it surpassed the other nations of the peninsula in glory and strength. The Greeks had had the Byzantine Empire, the Serbs the empire of Dushan the Strong, and the Bulgarians the empire of Simeon. Forgetting that the Macedonian nation, too, had had its empire of Samuil, each of these three peoples, once their national spirit was reanimated, dreamed of bringing back the most glorious time in their history without taking into account that this would be to the detriment of the Macedonian people.

# MAKEDONIJA



The magazine MAKEDONIJA, No. 334 of 1981, p. 11.

Serious people must know that in not a single nation does history repeat itself. With the passage of centuries living conditions change and the new state must adapt to these changes, and not just for its own sake either, but also for the people whom it wants to annex. During the Middle Ages it was possible to establish states by force; today this is neither possible nor moral. We live in an era of mutual respect of all nations.

"Today when Balkan states want to dominate the Macedonian people solely in order to establish a large state, they run the risk of stirring up for themselves ceaseless struggles in this state between captives and conquerors. This truth must be seriously understood and everyone should assist the nation that wants to liberate itself rather than replace one slavery with another."

(JOURNAL DE PARIS, 17 November 1867.)

This Monsieur (Voitenaine) must have been a sorcerer to have managed to master more than a century ago the present-day style of Skopje propaganda. Towards the end of 1867 he "urges" French public opinion to "turn" attention to the Macedonian question. It's all the same whether you make Homer instead of Achilles sing the praises of Napoleon or Musa Kesedzhiya.

(Voitenaine) was no publicist. He must have been a prophet. Because in 1867 the Balkan peoples had made no attempts to come to an agreement on any question whatsoever other than to escape from Ottoman dominion. The European governments were greatly disturbed by the exacerbation of the internal situation in European Turkey and were on their guard lest Russia profit from this situation and establish her lasting influence in the Balkans.

In the same year, 1867, France presented her plan for reforms in Turkey, constructed on the *idee fixe* of equality between Mohammedan and Christian subjects of the empire. In this connection Karl Marx asks ironically whether true believer and infidel, Mohammedans and rayah can be equated. The sole purpose of these plans, according to Marx, was to throw dust in the eyes of the European nations.

In 1867 the Russian government also proposed a plan for reforms in Turkey whereby the national autonomy of the captive peoples might be provided within the framework of the empire. This plan was, of course, rejected by the Porte.

Let us not dwell on the grouping and manifestations of the internal forces of the national-liberation movements in the Balkans at precisely this time, but we want more than a century later to respond to Monsieur (Voitenaine) that the Bulgarian exarchate was established four years after the publication of his article in the newspaper JOURNAL DE PARIS and this institution was *de facto* official recognition of the Bulgarian people while the Bulgarian state would appear on the European map 12 years later. It is odd how Monsieur (Voitenaine) could in 1867 impute to the Bulgarian state aspirations towards other peoples. Monsieur (Voitenaine) says that serious people must recognize the laws of history, but he himself is so illiterate that he does not even know what states there were in the Balkans in his time. Another thing, he anathematizes force as a factor in the liberation of the captive



Facsimiles of the newspaper JOURNAL DE PARIS of 17 November 1867

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE  
SERIE: DOCUMENTS

Le 2. 3090  
(17.11.1867)

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peoples because "it is neither possible nor moral." The Bulgarian peoples to a man used force to liberate themselves and shed blood to the point of utter exhaustion.

So the sorcerer and prophet (Voitenaine) could be accused of abject ignorance. If he existed.

It turns out, however, /that he is fabricated/ [words enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface].

We sought assistance from French libraries and specialists.

We examined the file of the JOURNAL DE PARIS. In this issue we found neither author by the name of (Voitenaine) nor any material on such a topic. (We present a facsimile of the entire issue. A copy of the newspaper in its original format is available in our editorial office.)

Owing to its vile nature this forged document of Skopje, one of a series in a turbulent torrent of anti-Bulgarian materials in Yugoslavia, needs no more detailed commentary. World public opinion was supposed to be duped by Monsieur (Voitenaine) on the principle that the clean sheet of paper you write on can't tell the difference. But as is plain to see, a clean sheet of paper can also mercilessly expose

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CSO: 2200/4

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**GNEISENAU HONORED AS FATHER OF NATIONAL MILITIA CONCEPT**

**West German Commentary**

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Aug 81 p 8

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, in August: "Gneisenau Is Left to the GDR--On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Prussian Reformer's Death." For various references to other items of related information see translation of a June 1981 East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Helmut Bock published under the heading, "'Progressive' Aspects of Prussian History Illustrated," in JPRS 78923, 8 Sep 81, No 1916 of this series, pp 40-48]

[Text] Von Weizsaecker, the mayor of Berlin, recently stated that in the intellectual dispute between the two states in Germany, Prussia was a controversial subject. At times, however, it looks as though in some fields we bow to the GDR without a fight. A good example in this regard are the Prussian reformers, above all Gneisenau.

Next Sunday [23 Aug 81], it will be 150 years since the death of August Wilhelm Anton Neithardt von Gneisenau--Field Marshal, military reformer, patriot and conqueror of Napoleon. On this day, memorial hours will be celebrated in the GDR, and at Gneisenau's place of birth, his grave and his memorial in East Berlin, wreaths will be laid down; and as was the case last year on the occasion of the 220th anniversary of Gneisenau's birth, he will be extolled as a progressive German military commander and one of the originators of the GDR's National People's Army and reference will be made to Friedrich Engels, who called Gneisenau a "man of genius."

As for the Federal Republic, the Federal Ministry of Defense stated that no official or unofficial Gneisenau memorial service was being planned. As far as we know, aside from two Federal-Armed-Forces barracks in Koblenz and Wolfenbuettel that are named after him, there is in this country nothing reminiscent of Gneisenau. It appears that one of the main reasons for the reluctance to pay the great man due respect is the fact that Gneisenau--like other great figures in Prussian-German history--was abused by the National Socialists for their sordid purposes.

The GDR did not have any scruples about claiming Gneisenau for its "socialist national consciousness." As early as 1952, the town of Schildau in Torgau Kreis [kreis: GDR administrative unit] (Leipzig Bezirk [bezirk: GDR administrative unit])--Gneisenau's place of birth which today totals approximately 1,800 inhabitants--was given the sobriquet "Gneisenau-Town." In 1960, the Gneisenau monument

was reerected in the town's marketplace; the old bronze monument had been melted down at the end of World War II. In 1968, a unit of the GDR border troops was given the honorary title of "Neithardt-von-Gneisenau-Regiment," and in 1979, the town of Schildau established for its great son a memorial place and a museum in the house where he was born. The park of the former Gneisenau estate in Sommerschenburg (Oschersleben Kreis in Magdeburg Bezirk), which is located directly at the Marienborn/Helmstedt border-crossing checkpoint, contains the Gneisenau mausoleum and monument--tended and maintained by the soldiers of the "Neithardt von Gneisenau" border regiment. Side by side with the statues of Scharnhorst, Blücher and York von Wartenburg, the bronze Gneisenau statue--created from a model by Christian Daniel Rauch and erected by Friedrich Wilhelm IV on Unter den Linden Boulevard in 1855--has since 1964 resumed its place vis-a-vis Schinkel's Neue Wache [New Guardhouse] on East Berlin's Unter den Linden Boulevard.

Whereas Gneisenau's place of birth and his grave are located on GDR territory, his literary bequest--namely documents and letters taking up 6 meters of shelf-space--is in the West, in the Berlin Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz [Berlin Secret State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage]. So far, the public has been denied access to this valuable collection. Even the organizers of the great Prussia Exhibition in Berlin were not able to draw on it. It is planned, however, to publish Gneisenau's posthumous works within the next few years. Perhaps this will help to put Gneisenau in our country in the right light.

As regards Gneisenau's early childhood, there are quite a few legends, perhaps because the little town of Schildau, in which he was born--according to the well-preserved entry in the parish register--on 27 October 1760, is the locale of the "Schildbuerger" [Schildau citizens] and their follies. Since the Schildau citizens had for a long time failed to pay their taxes and had annoyed him in other respects as well, Johann Friedrich von Schoenberg, a Saxon squire and man of letters, in 1598 ascribed to them--in his version of the Lale-Book (published in Strasbourg in 1597)--all those follies that in the Alsatian book of pranks are committed by Laleans of Laleburg.

Gneisenau spent only a few days in his place of birth. After an eventful childhood and youth, after short periods of university study in Erfurt and military service in Austria, he entered in 1780 the service of the state of Ansbach. As a member of a detachment ordered to relieve the English mercenaries, he went to North America where he had the opportunity to observe the people's army and the strategy of scattered military operations in the American War of Independence.

In 1786, a few months before the death of Frederick the Great, he joined the Prussian Army. The following 20 years were a time of boring garrison service; Gneisenau put this period to account by reading and--above all--by studying the military strategy of Napoleon, the man he admired and hated. It was on account of his role as commander of the Fortress of Kolberg that Gneisenau became known: Along with Nettelbeck and the hussar officer Schill, Gneisenau defended and held the fortress against Napoleon from April until July 1807, when the Tilsit Peace Treaty was concluded.

Upon the conclusion of peace, Gneisenau was appointed to the Military Reorganization Commission headed by Scharnhorst, which also comprised Clausewitz and Boyen. Among the reformers, Gneisenau, who said about himself that "Bonaparte was my

teacher in war and peace," was the most decisive one. In a memorandum, he went so far as to call for a national uprising, and in his military memoranda, he deeply delved into the era's fundamental problems. The bourgeois reformer and patriot turned into the theoretician of armed resistance by the people, including guerrilla warfare—arguing it was "reasonable and politically prudent to give the peoples a fatherland, if they are expected forcefully to defend a fatherland." However, King Friedrich Wilhelm III rejected Gneisenau's proposals as "poetry."

After the dismissal of Freiherr von Stein (1808), Gneisenau submitted his resignation and went abroad. In 1811, he was called back to Berlin by Hardenberg; he now urged to launch the campaign against Napoleon. In the wars of liberation in 1813 and 1815, which resulted in implementation of the Prussian military reform, Gneisenau advanced—after the death of Scharnhorst on 28 June 1813—to the rank of chief of staff of the "Silesian Army" under Blücher, who defended the "one-man decisions" of his political-minded adviser, enforcing them against the resistance of the generals in the field.

Thus Gneisenau became Napoleon's most important military opponent. Through skillful operations, he forced Napoleon into the Leipzig Battle of Nations, which resulted in victory for the allies, and then pursued the Emperor of the French across the Rhine. Gneisenau experienced his greatest triumph in the battle of Waterloo: Being entirely on his own after the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, he ordered: "The army moves northward." Thus he was able—in the nick of time—to relieve the hard-pressed Wellington and together they crushed Napoleon's imperial army.

In view of the restoration of princely rule in Europe, which was initiated by the Vienna Congress, Gneisenau felt his liberal and national concepts no longer had a future; in 1816—promoted to the rank of general and transferred to the provincial town of Koblenz—he submitted his resignation. In 1825, on the 10th anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, Gneisenau was promoted to the rank of field marshall, and in 1831 he was put in charge of the observation army in the Prussian province of Posen, which was to contain the revolutionary spark in the Russian kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland) and to lend assistance to the Russians, against whom the Polish national army had risen up.

On 23 August 1831, Gneisenau died in Posen from the cholera. A few months later, there followed the death of Clausewitz, who had been appointed chief of staff of Gneisenau's army in Posen. Ten years after his death, Gneisenau's remains were transferred to and interred in Sommerschenburg.

Next Sunday, when the GDR will mark the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Gneisenau's death, his last mission in Posen will again be passed over in silence. The reasons for this silence have become still more apparent.

## SED View of Prussian History

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Aug 81 p 13

[Article by Werner Mueller: "Theoretician and Practitioner of People's War in Prussia--On 23 August, 150 Years Ago, Neithardt von Gneisenau Died"]

[Text] Neithardt von Gneisenau is one of the eminent reformers and patriots, who at the beginning of the 19th century made history in Prussia by instituting civic reforms. His work is inseparably linked with Gerhard von Scharnhorst, the leader of the military reformer-patriots. It was above all during the period from 1807 to 1815 that Gneisenau achieved outstanding results as a theoretician and practitioner of people's war.

Born on 27 October 1760, Gneisenau--after a short period of study at the University of Erfurt--followed in his father's footsteps and embarked on a military career. As a young lieutenant in an Ansbach-Bayreuth infantry unit sold overseas, he experienced the struggle for liberation waged by the American farmers and townspeople against the English mercenaries. Thus he witnessed a people waging a just war to attain freedom and independence, and it made a lasting impression on him.

### It Began in 1807 on the Walls of the Fortress of Kolberg

But it was not until much later, in consequence of other events, that the knowledge obtained in America was applied in practice. Upon his return to Germany, Gneisenau joined the ranks of the Prussian Army, which lived off the military exploits of Friedrich II. But the ambitious officer--who meanwhile had advanced to the rank of captain--did not consider the routine service in a dreary garrison town east of the Elbe River a promising field of activity.

For Gneisenau--just as for many of his contemporaries--the turning point came in 1806, when he experienced the defeat of the old Prussian army by Napoleon's army at Jena and Auerstedt and when he began to understand that the catastrophe was rooted in the supremacy of the Prussian Junker [squire]. In a memorandum written at that time, Gneisenau thus attacked the archreactionary army constitution; he even developed an operational plan which proposed to attack with guerrilla fighters the lines of communication of the French troops. But it was only in his capacity of commander of Kolberg, the small Pomeranian fortress that had not surrendered, that Gneisenau--together with Ferdinand von Schill and the patriotic citizen Joachim Nettelbeck--was able to implement his ideas--at least in this respect--by organizing the defense of the fortress with the participation of the citizenry. Thus, aside from Scharnhorst, Gneisenau proved to be the "only officer in the army who understood and was able to apply in practice the modern type of warfare originated by the French," as Franz Mehring put it--100 years later--in his paper "Jena and Tilsit." During the fighting, Gneisenau published in VOLKSFREUND, a Koenigsberg paper, a forceful article on the great merits of Nettelbeck, his comrade-in-arms; this piece represented the first such article by a Prussian officer published in the bourgeois press.

### His Great Models Were Spain and Russia

On account of the glorious defense of Kolberg, Gneisenau was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, awarded the "Pour le mérite" order and appointed to the Military Organization Commission, which had been established--under the chairmanship of Scharnhorst--upon conclusion of the Tilsit Peace Treaty. Here Scharnhorst's ideas concerning universal conscription merged with Gneisenau's conceptions concerning armed militia units as the core of a national army--conceptions that brought the deserving and service-proved officer into discredit at the court and among the notables of the Old-Prussian squirarchy. It was especially with Friedrich Wilhelm III that Gneisenau was becoming more and more suspect as a "Jacobin."

In 1808, there broke out in French-ruled Spain a national uprising, which Napoleon was unable to quell (at that time, the term "guerrilla" was coined), and Gneisenau drew on these events in Spain in developing his plans to drive Napoleon from Prussia and Germany by means of a people's war. These ideas culminated in the memorandum of August 1811 concerning preparation and realization of a national uprising in the event that Napoleon should march against Russia. Gneisenau tried to incite the king to action, but the king quenched the fiery appeal with the cold blast of his infamous annotation: "For poetry, quite good."

What upset Gneisenau--much more than the king's silly marginalia--was the fact that in February 1812 Prussia concluded an alliance with Napoleon, thus aiding Napoleon's attack on Russia. Gneisenau went abroad; in Sweden and in England, he tried to obtain support for his insurrection plans, but as had been the case once before--in London in 1809--he came to be deeply disappointed. Napoleon's defeat in Russia and the catastrophic retreat of the Great Army again opened to Gneisenau the road back home. Enthusiastically, he extolled the military exploits of the Russian army. These feelings were reflected in an article that was inspired by Gneisenau and published by Ernst Moritz Arndt in PREUSSISCHER CORRESPONDENT: "Moscow has become a model to us.... A people that...acts like Moscow will have attained victory once it becomes unified."

As chief of staff in Blücher's Silesian army, Gneisenau now was finally able--in the spring of 1813--to implement his people's-war plans. The plans were concretized in the Landsturm (Territorial Reserve) Decree of 21 April 1813. Thus the people's war--which had already been started spontaneously--was given official sanction. In the view of the Junkers, however, this Landsturm, which now arose in many places, was much too democratic; even a bourgeois war historian such as Hans Delbrueck felt that it "completed the reversal of the old public and social situation." Thus the new institution, regarding employment of which the king had reserved to himself the final say, was never officially called up; it operated illegally, as it were. After the victory in the Leipzig Battle of Nations, the creator of the Landsturm was treated by Friedrich Wilhelm III so coldly and condescendingly that Gneisenau admitted that "after the war" he would "rather starve than to force myself on this unfriendly ruler and his army."

### When Napoleon Was Finally Defeated at Waterloo

Nevertheless, in 1815, after Napoleon's return from Elba, Gneisenau--operating side by side with Blücher--again impressively demonstrated his outstanding military

skills. It was above all due to Gneisenau's initiative that the Prussian defeat at Ligny was turned--by means of a decisive surprise maneuver carried out in collaboration with the English under Wellington--into Napoleon's catastrophic defeat at Waterloo.

These accomplishments, which rescued Prussia from its self-imposed predicament, were never acknowledged by the king, who failed to show any gratitude vis-a-vis Gneisenau and other reformers. During the last years of his life, Field Marshall Gneisenau was highly respected and at the same time left out in the cold. When he died from the cholera on 23 August 1831, he had personally experienced the whole tragedy of the Prussian reformers, whose efforts bogged down at the halfway mark, because behind this small group of noblemen making history there was no social force steeled in the struggle for progress.

History's judgment on Gneisenau was clearly stated by Friedrich Engels: "Gneisenau was a man--and a man of genius."

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## PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CITED IN SELECTION OF PILOT CANDIDATES

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 22 No 4, Aug 81 pp 185-186]

[Article by Ulrike Langer, psychologist: "On the System of Psychological Selection of Professional Officer Candidates for Use as Military Pilots"]

[Text] Summary: The introduction describes the important problem of psychological selection as an overall social concern under the conditions of socialism and mentions the requirements that primarily have to be solved under psychological work aspects. The second part gives a survey on psychologically relevant demands on flying in connection with a high-level rapid development of aviation technology. In the end the system for the psychological factors in the selection of pilot candidates for the NVA and the essential methods and criteria for judging psychological qualifications are summarized.

### 1. Psychological Selection as a Social Concern

Psychological selection must in principle be understood as a psychological suitability concern to be correlated, on a dialectical-materialist basis, with the inevitabilities in the relations between man and his environment, and with the development of personality in action. The basic conception of dialectical materialism, on the one hand, takes social conditions and requirements into account and, on the other, it is generally aiming at assisting a person when he decides on his occupation and meets the tests of it. (1)

"The subject matter of suitability psychology lies in examining the interaction between what an individual brings along to be successful in his work and the demands made by that work, primarily through psychological-diagnostic methods. This helps determine the degree of conformity between what an individual brings along to be successful and the demands made by the work, so that he will successfully cope with it in fact. This may be called an optimization of the man-work requirement ratio, and the optimization criteria can partly be economic benefit parameters derived from human work. But then--and this is more important--direct suitability considerations also enter, which have to do with the encouragement for the all-round personality development of man." (SEEBER, 7).

What does one mean now by subjective performance prerequisites? That concept, according to HACKER (4), is a general term for all physical and psychological conditions a person brings along for a successful and safe exercise of certain required tasks. Physical prerequisites, to some extent innate, are relatively clearly delineated (constitution, nutritional condition, health), so that they can be made mandatory for guidelines and authorizations (e.g. guidelines for employment investigations, ASAÖ, Penal Code). Psychological prerequisites, on the other hand, include knowledge, skills and abilities and character prerequisites, especially as they concern attitudes, which much more than the physical prerequisites are formed, shaped and reinforced in the process of a person's life history. That is to say, psychological prerequisites develop through the training and education in the very activities to which they are prerequisite.

Methodologically speaking this means that selection decisions can relate and be based only on relatively constant basic personality prerequisites, thus can selection decisions only be probability statements. Because "through a diagnostic assessment of the performance prerequisites at the given moment of the personality development, predictions are made on his coping with his requirements at a later time (vocational training)." (SEEBER, 7). The author points out that judgments of "suitable" or "unsuitable" as a rule are normative in character, i.e., depend on economic benefit considerations. Finally he emphasizes as an essential problem that appropriate systems for a qualitative and quantitative description of work requirements ought to be worked out, which would have to be the basis for using diagnostic investigative procedures.

## 2. On the Requirements for Flying

The need for psychological testing in selecting pilot candidates results from specific characteristics in flying. A general description of it was given by LAPTEV and MAL'KOVSKI (5). They are emphasizing the motion in the air (in three dimensions), the necessarily high speed of the activity, the demands for stability and for elasticity in flying technique, and the unexpected risks the life of pilots is subjected to.

According to STEININGER (8), the critical requirements relate to learned skills as well as personality traits. The author is of the opinion that most skills expected of a pilot include an assessment of space-time processes, supervisory tasks, complex control activities and learning processes. In an article on the psychological problems in high-speed flying, GERBERT (3) comes to the conclusion that the demands made on pilots in civil, and more still, in military aviation, have reached a point that makes increasingly clear the limits of human capability.

The author emphasizes that far-reaching automated air control devices supporting the pilot does not alter his observation. With regard to high-speed flying in the military field, GERBERT (3) describes the psychological problems as follows: "Operating and reacting in the aircraft make primary demands on the human functions of attention, observation, memory, thinking and intention. Especially a high-speed flight shows the limits in the absorption capacity, the reaction speed and the decision-making and in handling more than one thing at one and the same time."

Based on STEININGER (9), GERBERT points out that increasing speeds will more and more give rise to a "blind spot" in the pilot's apperception range, will keep shifting more and more "ahead of the aircraft," which will more and more demand of the pilot to anticipate matters. PONOMARENKO (6) likewise deals with the psychological problems in flying under the aspect of the psychophysiological limit to human capability and in this connection emphasizes increased flight safety requirements. In connection with flight safety, "technological and human potentials under certain condition lead to the well-known contradiction: as it has become possible today to engage in ultrasonic flight at lower altitudes, the effect of human action diminishes." (6) Solving the contradiction referred to by using automated systems does not as such relieve and facilitate matters but leads to substantive-qualitative shifts in the psychological demands on the pilot. In this context one is talking about an intellectualization of the activity. PONOMARENKO (6) further states that what makes flying specific is that no level of automation cancels the effects of flight-specific factors such as the distance from the earth, the need for space orientation, noise, vibration, acceleration effects, turbulence and others. Controlling automated equipment under such conditions requires that the pilot must constantly be ready to make necessary decisions and revisions. Doing so he must be able to cope with possible conflicts between the information his devices supply and his own sense of where he is (flight illusion), which is another source of highly charged psychological and emotional stress.

Up to the most recent date the literature keeps pointing to the difficulties in providing accurate definitions of the requirements for pilots. GERATHEMOHL (2) suggests investigations thus far were mainly descriptive and had little to say about the pilot's basic skills, facilities and features. STEININGER (8) has taken a good look at these problems and suggests as the main reason for it the steady and dynamic development of aviation, which keeps running ahead of understanding its requirements, so that all one has are some pragmatic approximations. That also is of consequence of course to the cogency of any suitability prognosis for psychological factors. "In view of the difficulties of objectivating requirement and judgment criteria, too much is asked of any suitability selection if one expects of it alone a sure prognosis for professional qualifications. A reliable prognosis presupposes not only objective qualification tests but also objective testing criteria, with requirements remaining equal in a standardized training system." (STEININGER, 8).

### 3. On the System of Psychological Selection of Professional Officer Candidates Training to Become Pilots in the NVA

Only candidates who meet the medical pilots criteria complete the psychological selection process. Psychological selection falls under the aspect of an all-round assessment of the individual-psychological particulars of a personality in connection with the social conditions of their previous development and their future professional demands.

As the time available for selection investigation is short, experimental psychological procedures bear the brunt of our investigative methodology. Above and beyond the psychological testing, external criteria are gathered through an analysis of the curriculum vitae and an analysis of judgments, of grades in

school and premilitary education, which allow predictions on professional qualifications and prognoses. For spotting individual characteristics, a talk about psychological suitability is of great importance. In connection with the performance profile of a personality, one must judge a candidate's experience and attitude under the aspect of his compensating for particular losses in his experience, attitude and performance. We have available a number of devices and written investigative procedures for testing intellectual endowments and prerequisites, like concentration capacity, the mode of attention spread, and the level of knowledge and information, which are conducted either as individual or as group tests. They include verbal skills as well as "practical-intellectual" demands. The candidate has to form concept-analogies, find common features and inevitabilities, solve puzzles and mathematical tasks and figure out spatial orientation tasks. Other performance-diagnostic procedures are directed at the subjective prerequisites in attention, concentration and sensomotor coordination.

Personal questionnaires play a role as a testing tool under the individual-psychological aspect. They, together with the judgments and performance evidence, are the basis for psychological exploration. Among the basic prerequisites for successfully training highly qualified individual fighters are such psycho-diagnostically relevant categories as emotional stability, dedication and consistency, discipline and an adequate experiential resonance. In a general way, demands are made on the development of successful pilots that ensure an attitude appropriate to the situation of stress, a sufficient psycho-emotional stress capacity, and an absorption capacity for experience that causes as little conflict as possible. Psychological selection relies on diagnostic test procedures that were scientifically tested for their evidential value before they were applied. For testing the validity of procedures newly admitted into the selection program, data are now being collected. A subsequent paper will describe in detail its results and the methodological problems in gaining objective, reliable and valid stress criteria from the actual training process connected with it, as suggested in sections one and two. In this connection we should like to reiterate that any selection decision, that is to say, any opinion and judgment on suitability, irrespective of the field from which it comes, can always only be a probability statement and no guarantee for training or career success.

#### FOOTNOTES

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ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES NEW APPROACH TO TEACHING HISTORY

Badapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Aug 81 p 5

[Roundtable discussion entitled: "Concerning the Teaching of History" Participants included Mrs Gyorgy Balazs, Associate Professor and the Director of the Research Group on Methodology at the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest; Ferenc Glatz, Section Head of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the editor in chief of the Historica; Gabor Gyapay, author of the textbooks and senior teacher at the Fazekas High School; and Andras Petro, director of the Textbook Publishing House. The roundtable discussion was moderated by our columnist, Laszlo Sarkadi.]

[Text] One of the still clearly perceptible shortcomings of the teaching of history today is that this discipline is still unable to portray and to demonstrate with sufficient clarity the interrelationship and regularity of social developments. Without such clarity, however, it is very difficult to understand, let alone to teach the nature of various political systems. In the course of the past decade we have witnessed the birth of sufficient results in historical research, as well as in methodological experimentations. But it is most difficult for these results to become part of the curriculum that is in force. New textbooks have been printed, but can we really be satisfied with the changes in them? Were there fundamental changes made in their methodology, and in the conception and teaching of history. These were some of the topics that were discussed at the roundtable discussion in which the following persons participated: Mrs Gyorgy Balazs, Associate Professor and the Director of the Research Group on Methodology at the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest; Ferenc Glatz, Section Head of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the editor in chief of the Historica; Gabor Gyapay, author of the textbooks and senior teacher at the Fazekas High School; and Andras Petro, director of the Textbook Publishing House. The roundtable discussion was moderated by our columnist, Laszlo Sarkadi.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Increasing attention is being paid nowadays to history, to the teaching of history, to the social sciences in general, and in particular to the teaching of history in various schools. What are the reasons behind this increased interest?

[Mrs Gyorgy Balazs] If . am forced to be brief in my response, then I have to attribute this resurgence to changes within the discipline of history and the social sciences in general. It is of equal importance, however, that the specialists were able to sum up the most recent achievements of the historical discipline in the form of a single subject matter.

[A. Petro] The previous history textbooks have simply been in use for too long. They have become dated. The history text for the fifth grade of the elementary school, for example, has appeared in eighteen editions. With various degrees of revisions, the rest of the textbooks have also been in use since the mid-1960's. After so many years, one would be justified to produce new textbooks even without basic curriculum changes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The publication of new textbooks, therefore, is justified both by new research results, as well as by curriculum changes. But what new results has recent research in the historical discipline produced?

[Mrs Gyorgy Balazs] Historical research has expanded both in time and space. As an example, based on new archeological research, the date of the beginnings of human history has been pushed back much earlier than we thought possible two decades ago. Research is being conducted on hither-to unresearched continents, and major advances have also been made in the related social sciences. The verification methods used by the historical profession have also improved. The comparative analysis of long term historical periods permit us to observe the impact of political and economic conditions, and upon similar lifestyles in the past. This approach can be exciting and most interesting undertaking from the point of view of the students.

History and the various other branches of the social sciences have also become involved in the process of integration, and we should make use of this in our teaching. Research in economics, demography, economic geography, ethnography, archeology, linguistics, art, architectural history, and other disciplines has added a whole new verification methods to our century's largely descriptive and subjective historical discipline.

[NEPSZABADSAG] If history as a scholarly discipline has gone through so many changes, why is it that our plans for changing the point of view of the textbooks has failed to surface until recently?

[F. Glatz] A certain timelap has always existed between scholarship and teaching. I am not even thinking primarily of the delay in incorporating and in propagating, i.e. teaching of more recent facts and data, but rather of the lag in changing our attitudes. Within our cultural-scientific policy, there are certain strains in the relationship between scholarship and teaching. I am referring to the fact that the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has tried to reorganize the very foundations of that ideological-institutional system that developed during the period of the personality cult, and which created a centralized "up-to-date unity" (of a faulty unity) between scholarly research and everyday politics--and did so under the one-sided primacy of the latter. Our new cultural-scientific policy has put an end to this. The basic guideline of this policy is to give a free vent to research and debates on various levels of scholarly forums and journals with limited circulation, while at the same time permitting only accepted truths to seep out onto

the public-opinion shaping forums, including textbooks. This new policy advances the cause of scholarship. At the same time we have to pose the question: Could this different attitude have been one of the main reasons for the fact that, notwithstanding significant efforts to put an end to it, there is still a tendency for certain time-lags to reoccur between scholarly truths that can be said to have been accepted by the profession, on the one hand, and views presented in publications intended for the public at large, on the other.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You have spoken of factors that influence public opinion, which includes education. What else, besides education, shapes the historical views of mankind?

[F. Glatz] Many things. When speaking of those historical and social concepts and that live in the minds of people, we have a tendency to attribute all of these to education. The period of our [formal] schooling is doubtless the most important epoch in shaping our views of society. It is also certain that in the shaping of our views concerning human society, systematic knowledge and the observation of inter-relationships during our formal education play a very significant role. At the same time we cannot forget one of the most important factors concerning our view of society; namely that this view has the tendency to change and to assume new colorations to the very end of our lives. We may also state that following our schooling—or perhaps parallel with it—all types of environmental factors strongly influence us. These include official commemorations, the names of streets, literary experiences, the radio, television, the movies, and so on. The information so gained may strengthen, but may also undermine that system of thought and logic that was formed by our study of history, which shaped our thinking and our philosophy of history. We don't really know the extent of these influences. Yet we are still reluctant to try to measure them, even though it is really impossible to talk authoritatively about the effectiveness of history teaching and about changes in our views of history without taking these influences into consideration.

[NEPSZABADSAG] With this we have again returned to the main topic of our discussion, namely to the problem of the history textbooks. What should a good textbook be really like?

[G. Gyapay] If anyone could give you a precise answer, then we would be involved today in heated debates over textbooks! One thing is certain. The already finished textbooks have utilized the demonstrated results of all of the research centers. Yet, there were also some serious difficulties. To give you an example: In the past, history texts for the first year of high school have only dealt with world history up to the fall of the Western Roman Empire. The new textbook, however, covers this history right up to the eleventh century, and devotes the same number of pages and in the same number of hours to it. Additionally, it also covers Hungarian history up to and including St. Stephen's rule. Thus, the material covered has been expanded by including feudalism. In the second year of high school, the number of hours have been reduced from three to two, however the material covered has not been reduced to such an extent. The material in the textbooks for technical high schools is even more crammed. In spite of this, in the new textbooks greater attention is given to demography, to the history of technology, to military techniques, to the history of institutional systems, to developments of intellectual currents, as well as to a more descriptive demonstration of human lifestyles and ways of life. Selection of

readings, pictures, diagrams, maps, tables and graphs all contribute to making the text come alive. At the same time it also offers new methodological possibilities so as to get the most out of students and thus strengthen their knowledge of history through active personal involvement.

[Mrs Gyorgy Balazs] Let us also add that these phenomena can in fact be shown in light of the accumulated research data. It is rather strange, however, that while these data have accumulated, the teaching of history has lost some of its prestige. History has ceased to be a subject of high school comprehensive examinations, and its eclipse produced some sad results. Fortunately, these regulations have now been withdrawn, to a large degree because of pervasive arguments by the university personnel and by the scholarly researchers at the various institutes of the Academy of Sciences.

[F. Glatz] It is really difficult to respond to the question as to what should a good textbook be like. At the same time we can already enumerate some of its basic desirable features. These include the recognition of historical laws that move human society, as well as the development of a uniform, summarizing and synthesizing way of looking at things on the basis of these laws, both of which are unequivocal positive achievements of scholarship. Naturally therefore, we would like to see history being presented in a systematic way—from its beginnings to our own time—based upon these historical laws. But this still creates problems, for aren't we putting too many conceptional generalizations into the material taught? And aren't the textbooks simply made into depositories of historical laws, even though these have been sifted, validated and approved by scholarship? Generalizations have no lasting import unless their validity has been substantiated by a whole series of concrete facts. But are we giving enough factual knowledge? Do students receive enough factual information about specific periods of history to make it possible for them to appreciate the meaning of such abstract "social forms" as feudalism and capitalism? Can they understand and appreciate the miserable existence of the serf-peasants who worked the soil, or the powers of the ever-expanding feudal lords, or the dynastic goals and aspirations of the rulers, or the wanderings of the shrewd merchants, or the mind stupefying daily labors of the artisans? In other words, can they understand the workings of our human society? Undigested generalizations have the tendency to remain simply slogans—be they about class struggle, about the ever-increasing process of exploitations, or about the development of productive forces, or revolutionary movements. Without substantiation, these largely undigested assertions will come back to haunt us in our adulthood. They are regarded by most people simply as "attributes of the oft-heard agitational process." The result is that one of the most important goals of the teaching of history is lost for ever. According to this goal, history should help us understand and put historical meaning into our everyday existence. It should also give meaning to our social and political deeds, and thus make us able to view the present as an organic part of historical evolution.

[A. Petro] Unfortunately, in Hungary we don't have systematic research on the theory of textbooks. On the other hand, we do have some textbook experimentation, and the related scholarship is quite rich both at home and abroad. They all give us some help, but do not free us from debates. Here, for example, is the thesis mentioned by Ferenc Glatz concerning the desirability of textbooks to incorporate only proven data that have been accepted by research scholars. The problem is that even the categories of accepted data is a matter of choice. I could also raise the problem of size. Everywhere in the world, this is one of the so-called neurotic or critical

points of textbook writing. There is a real danger in giving too much, in trying to achieve perfection. We have to be careful about this. A thick textbook is frightening. Thus we are always trying to force our authors to limit the material covered. Yes, but it is precisely history as a discipline that is most demanding of space and text, and by being too strict with it, we may in fact lose precisely its most important attribute: namely the story and the excitement that goes with it, without which only a dry, though valid collection of facts remain. Nor should we forget--and this applies to all subjects, but most of all to history--that only in the hands of a good teacher will even the best textbooks turn into useful textbooks. A good selection of historical readings is also indispensable.

[G. Gyapay] It is already a well-established truth that even a good textbook is really useful only in the hands of a good teacher, i.e. one who is academically well-prepared, who loves his profession and his subject, and who regards teaching as a vocation. The effectiveness of teaching, however, is influenced by a number of other factors as well, including the social composition of the students, their value system, their family background, as well as the efforts of the youth organizations. As we can see, textbooks in themselves are not enough, but they still contribute the indispensable foundation of good teaching. History has a unique position within the system of subjects that are covered, for it is based tightly upon information gained from the study of all subjects. This is so because it treats historical events in chronological order--and how else could it really treat them?--and because its coverage is generally preceded by the study of literature, geography, and the arts. Thus, other subjects are also compelled to deal with history. This approach has many advantages, but it also has at least as many drawbacks. Unfortunately, we are often faced with the problem that when students take their high school comprehensive exams or their university entrance examinations, they paint one historical picture in explaining a literary piece and a different one when responding to a history question dealing with the same historical period. In other words their knowledge is isolated from one another, and they do not form unified whole. One of the goals of the teaching of history, for example, is to bring about synthesis among these isolated islands of knowledge.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The history textbook for the first year of high school, which incidentally, was authored by Gabor Gyapay, is generally viewed as a successful textbook. True, there are those who would claim that the book is so successful precisely because, when it was written, the curriculum--i.e. the bane of all textbook writers--was as yet unfinished, and thus did not bind the hands of the authors.

[G. Gyapay] What else could I say about this than that the curriculum has the force of law behind it, and that its regulations must be followed under all circumstances. Naturally, a less than perfect curriculum does make the work of an author more difficult. Nonetheless, there are still many possibilities for individual solutions even within the limits of a strict curriculum.

[NEPSZABADSAG] But perhaps the requirements for the curriculum are not really realistic?

[Gy. Gyapay] This is not really a major problem. Much more significant is the limitation on the size of the textbook. If, for example, we are describing a process of development only with words, it is usually still understandable, but it remains

simply an intellectual experience. If on the other hand, this same process is depicted with the help of graphics, and is illustrated with selections, then it becomes much more lifelike, and its relationship to other parallel developments will also become much clearer. But all this requires more space. Unfortunately, there are still those who assume that the thinner the textbook, the easier it is to learn its content. But the above example clearly shows that it is precisely an increase in the size of the textbook that can make the process of studying not only easier, but also faster and more successful. A many-sided approach to things permits us to gain a more sophisticated knowledge and more lifelike image of reality. Thus it is the best way we can hope to project an image of reality that is free of illusions. And it is precisely the formation of an illusion-free view of history that is one of the primary goals of the teaching of history. The consciousness of the older generations is often determined by attitudes that in a scholarly point of view are obsolete. They are also heavily burdened by illusions, largely because their consciousness was formed many years earlier. This is the reason behind their uproars when encountering a historical exposition which does not coincide with those earlier views of history. Problems, however, can be produced not only by these illusions, but also by every other misdirected views. Today we may even say that the greatest dangers are emanate from various "negative illusions," and we should devote most of our attention to these. Because of their superficial approach to history, many people look upon the past as if it were simply a list of the crimes of our ancestors. At the same time many of the significant achievements of this past are simply passed over or are presented in a one-sided way. This is obviously wrong, for the long decades and centuries of social evolution have also produced worthy achievements. As an example, there are the many technological, scientific and artistic achievements of our history, which should be appreciated to and valued in the same manner as these are valued in the history of other nations.

One of the requirements of textbook writing is that the book should be free of factual mistakes and of imprecise prose. At the same time, it is equally important for a textbook to be written in an individualized and colorful style, and that it be geared to the peculiarities of the specific age group. The effectiveness of the approach differs with the level of the schools (e.g. elementary, high school, university). But even within these categories, one has to pay attention to the age group. The textbook has to be written and compiled accordingly.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Perhaps we could avoid all such pitfalls by having open debates before the publication of the textbooks. And with this we have reached one of our greatest relevant problems, namely the question of the publication of textbooks.

[A. Petro] The most acute publication problems include the urgency of time and the lack of financial resources. Our system of competition has proved itself, even though it is precisely history which has less applicants then desirable. In addition to the system of competition, we should also be more aggressive in asking and commissioning scholars to write textbooks.

Limitations of time have a powerful and very constraining impact upon textbook writing. Let me just mention one example: The textbook for the fourth year of the technical high school had to be rewritten three times. Similar problems have also occurred in connection with other subjects. There is really no guarantee that anyone of the authors will prove to be successful. The publisher needs a given time to get the

book ready for publication and for the editing process. Thus, it is the author who is under the greatest pressure. At times he has to deliver the manuscript within a very short period of time. Nor should we forget that the honorariums are so modest that textbook writing does not necessarily attract the best authors, nor the most competent teachers. Moreover, not even the moral recognition is equivocal. Creative freedom is perhaps the greater benefit, but not even that can compensate for the risks involved in textbook writing. Moreover, notwithstanding all our efforts, we are still unable to do justice to the individual styles of the textbook writers.

[F. Glatz] Perhaps it is the main centers of historical research that should be approached to write textbooks. But to do so successfully, the prestige of textbook writing, which has declined considerably since the 1950's, should be reestablished. Those who are familiar with the recent research results through their own research activities and who also write well would certainly be able to write both textbooks, as well as other history books for teaching purposes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] We will probably never reach the point where we can publish textbooks at a leisurely pace. At the moment, however, conditions are so bad that it is most difficult to attract creative-minded educators to write textbooks. We are most likely to find the solution in the direction that has just been outlined by Ferenc Glatz: to entrust research centers with this undertaking.

[A. Petro] The publishers are certainly not against such a solution. But for that we need more flexibility in curriculum regulations, more time, and more financial support.

[Mrs Gy. Balazs] I do not regard this as a utopian proposal. This could be done in the way the methodological experimentations have been conducted for years, i.e. as a commission connected with one's regular duties. A university instructor whose primary interest is the nineteenth century, is certainly best equipped to direct research concerning a book of readings on the nineteenth century. For the same reason, the writing of textbooks could also be entrusted to the larger centers of scholarly research.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let me ask one more touchy question: Will there be a second, i.e. and alternative history text?

[A. Petro] This is pedagogically justifiable, and methodologically desirable. In a number of subjects we already have alternative textbooks. The results of this research will have to be taken into consideration when making our decision. We have to acknowledge, however, that according to a number of people we are already using too many textbooks. In history, for example--taking into account all types of school--we have in use 24 different textbooks, 12 different reading books, and 5 different workbooks.

[NEPSZABADSAG] One can hardly question that the most significant changes within the social sciences have occurred in connection with our view of history. Thus, the teaching of history is certainly one of the primary goals of our cultural policy.

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REFORM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ASSESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Tadeusz Wrobel]

[Text] The current school year brings to an end the reform of the 3-year course of elementary education. We hope that the proper analysis and evaluation will be made to show the degree to which the results achieved will fulfill the expectations placed in the program. The critical remarks, issuing both from teachers and other public circles, have been more intense recently. They concern both modifications and corrections in the programs--within the framework of the current idea of improving the didactic means and the material supply of schools, as well as within the framework of far reaching changes in the very concept of elementary education.

How were the current solutions (the program, textbooks, the system of upbringing) arrived at? Let us take a look at the past. The program reform which took place at the turn of the 1950's was overladen with content (e.g., history in the fourth grade), the textbooks lacked adaptation to the perceptual potential of students, teaching methods were characterized by verbalism, and the entire system was ineffective (a considerable number of students were kept back in the first grade for a second year, particularly in the country side). The following years brought about changes in programs, improvement in school textbooks and better teaching methods; certain corrections in the system of upbringing were also made, all of which improved the teaching situation in schools and facilitated the teacher's work.

The 1960's brought a great deal of revitalization in our educational system. This trend was known popularly as "pedagogical progress." A wave of experimentation passed through the schools. Leading teachers in cooperation with scholars sought new organizational, methodological and programmatic solutions in conjunction with the new needs of children and social needs. Much good was done here by the campaign of so-called school registrations tied in with corrective-equalization efforts which were initiated in the Warsaw and Lodz areas. The elementary school teachers community participated to spread this campaign.

At that time answers were being sought not only to the question, at what level the child [should] enter school (educational maturity), how could he be helped to equalize his chances as he begins school, but also to the question, how can the negative signs appearing in a child during his later school years be dispelled to foster this development, i.e., what forms of effective health and pedagogical care

should be used. Practice (the results of the research of clinical psychologists) and the theory which outlined the sources and the mechanism of the appearance of various developmental deficiencies and disturbances have born each other out. The recommendations issuing from this applied not only to the enrichment of classroom but, primarily, by supplementing it with corrective-equalization work outside the classroom.

The next problem requiring new solutions was to ensure [gifted] children the proper developmental stimuli in conjunction with their increased intellectual potential. For many years of records show accelerated development for children this age is the result of various operating factors. Although these have a positive effect on the development of many mental functions, the problem itself has not yet been unequivocally clarified by theory.

Studies have also demonstrated the special importance of earlier school acceptance (6-10 years of age) for continued development. It may be simply stated, that the new program and methodological proposals are contained in the slogans: to teach more, earlier and better and to educate the whole child, since "it is not only the brain that goes to school." Hence, the former concept of elementary education, in which the basic work was consisted of drills in reading, writing and counting skills as well as cognitive work within a very limited area, has also been subject to criticism. Lowered standards (which were, nonetheless, poorly implemented), obsolete methods and the overly infantile treatment of children created a situation in which the academic threshold between the 4-year elementary program and 5th grade was too great. This was attested to by the failures of students in this class.

The new makeup of elementary education was also influenced by new social needs, which have a decisive effect on the content of the general upbringing of the young generation. The demands of modern science and technology and the demands of the development of social life and the arts already permeate the work done with small children, who are gradually absorbed into these "objective systems." The cognition, experiences and activity of children represent their gradual absorption into these systems as well as the implementation of their own mental needs.

The conclusions thus derived with regard to the structure and choice of content related to reconciling the requirements of (team teaching) and the gradual introduction of (subject-systematic) teaching. This is why the demands of modern linguistics, modern math and other demands related to the remaining curriculum of general upbringing have also been taken into consideration.

New curriculum, gradually introduced, has had a favorable effect on all children, including the slow learners (who are often referred to as "lacking in capability") under the condition, however, that the proper methods are applied (including differentiated learning), that the proper rate of working with the children is used and that they receive extra help outside of the classroom to bring them up to the level of the others.

Changing the length of the elementary program to 3 years, which fits in with the projected structure of the school system, has supplemented the concept of elementary education.

The scope of elementary education has increased significantly. The principle which has been adopted concerning teacher training at the school level in institutions of higher learning in a master's program also attests to this.

Clearly, the concept of elementary education as expressed in new program, textbooks, and education and upbringing methods developed over a longer period. It was prepared by a large number of teachers, school psychologists and numerous teams of scholars.

Why all this criticism of the reform? This question may be answered in the following manner: the concept is basically sound, but when one gets down to the nitty-gritty, as it has developed, above all in programs, the results have been unsatisfactory. Most of teachers have been positive in their acceptance of the new concept: they have described the programs as "ambitious." Initially they were confronted with many problems; these programs, properly implemented by teachers who have been thoroughly trained in substance and methodology are of great benefit to students, but... But, in the broad sense, practice has shown that these programs are too extensive, too detailed, and certain material is too difficult also haste in school-work evokes many negative phenomena among students. An obvious conclusion: while preserving the basic concept, we must modify it in several aspects to improve the programs according to the intellectual potential of "average" students. The efforts of the Ministry of Education and of the Institute of School Programs [IPS] have also moved in this direction, and their results will soon be published as a new version of the programs with pertinent commentary.

This represents the majority view of teachers today as well as the view of other qualified persons. But there are also other, differing viewpoints. Namely, there are those who express the desire to reject the present concept of elementary education and to develop a new concept, which would include new programs and modified texts. An initial demand here is the restoration of the 4-year elementary program; in the wake of this would follow many serious problems, such as changes in the programs of the new 4th grade, which will be entering school this September, having completed the 3 year reformed elementary school program.

Such demands conceal many extremely complex problems, some of which are controversial and others relate to a new program concept for a 8-grade elementary school program and its internal structure. Does the undertaking of program reform and the rejection of the structure (a 10-year school) signify a return to former organizational solutions? Are we to return automatically to a 4-year elementary school curriculum? Other problems concern the organization of work, of teacher cadres and the like.

With regard to the concern over the appropriate level of work with small children, many issues related to improvements in teaching, in the material base of the school, limiting the number of students in a class and changes in the system of evaluation and the like have been advanced. These are independent of the concept itself and the situation of elementary education. They are demands which are extremely well-founded, which have been brought up for many years and which should finally be introduced.

Whatever the shape of elementary education in the future, the following two requirements should be adopted: 1) we should not introduce any solutions which would

again sidetrack elementary education, 2) we should improve on our heritage thus far, enriching with continual discussions among broad circles of qualified persons. We should make use of the dozens of points of valuable information contained in the various, hitherto unknown research studies (work on a so-called crucial problem, doctoral dissertations and others).

Undoubtedly, the problems the educating and bringing up children during the early school years, so complex and at the same time so important for their later development, showed always be resolved with a sense of concern for the welfare of the children themselves.

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**DRAFT OF LAWS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION CHANGED**

Reporters Question Minister Mawrocki

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Sep 81 p 2

(Text) The guest at the 15 September meeting of the Cultural and Educational Journalists' Club of the Polish Journalistic Association (SDP) was Prof Jerzy Mawrocki, the recently named minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

The minister discussed perspectives and a model for higher education with journalists, the chances for employment of graduates, projected changes in the recruitment system and scholarship assistance, capital investment problems and the financing of education, increases in the participation of ministerial institutions in the national economy. . . .

Not much came of it. The journalists had really only one question; i.e., who, when and for what purpose were the corrections to the--after so many rather difficult discussions and consultations exhausting with the public, trade unions, student organizations and other ministries--draft of laws for higher school system introduced, when in the end achieved social acceptance. At the moment when the entire academic community and a large portion of society impatiently anticipated sending the draft to Sejm, to everyone's shock, and especially to the draft's authors Prof Resich's codification committee, corrections were found in the draft, of which none have been accepted by the community. It simply has been acknowledged as a boycott of the work done by the codification committee.

Unfortunately, these are not--according to suggestions--only legal specifications, but--in the universal opinion--the frustrating interference in the sense and liberal, progressive character of the future laws. It is sufficient to recall the changes in their fundamental excerpts, such as the principle of electing the rector through electors and not through the Senate (this was reversed, and the minister was given veto power) or the principle of worldwise multiplicity in higher education. This was simply crossed out.

The result of introducing these changes just prior to the start of the new academic year is such that--after many protests by student organizations and trade unions--a stormy beginning for the new year is afoot.

At the meeting, the question was posed as to why these events could not have been foreseen, and why did they happen? After all, the new minister had an unusual

opportunity to erase the errors of his predecessor and have a good "entrance."

Minister Mawrocki, recalling certain conditions, could not, as he himself admitted, answer those questions. Confirming that this is by no means the final version of the law, and maybe one could regard it as yet another attempt at community discussion he only promised that if the draft of ministerial changes were not accepted by the public, the preliminary draft in its original version from last spring will be sent to the Office of the Council of Ministers. He also declared that during the next 10 days, after completion of discussions with the trade unions, the ministry's position on the matter will be announced.

#### Rectors' Conference Reaction

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] The press spokesman for Warsaw University delivered a communique from the Polish University Rectors' Conference, which is summarized here.

On 25 August 1981 a meeting of Polish University Rectors' Conference, which, in discussing the daily problems of the universities, will propose initiatives and suggestions that could be useful not only for every institution of higher education but also for socio-cultural life in the entire country.

During the course of its several weeks of work, the Conference proposed a series of demands to the minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology. Above all, the demands dealt with sending as quickly as possible to Sejm the draft of laws for higher education prepared by the social codification commission in the form proposed to the ministry on 11 June 1981.

The Rectors' Conference also delivered an opinion on various crucial problems in higher education to the minister. Among them were a critique of the ministry's draft of laws as regards portions contained therein like the substance and manner of preparation, issues of financial independence for the universities and their participation in developing drafts of laws dealing with education and the Polish Academy of Sciences.

On 14 September 1981 the minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology presented in a letter to the university rectors the position of the ministerial administration with respect to the submitted demands. Although some views were accepted, the Rectors' Conference once again expressed criticism of the draft of laws prepared by the ministry, declared itself to be in support of giving the parliamentary commission the codification commission's draft and demanded categorically that the universities obtain the ministerial authority necessary to facilitate the proper course of academic work and teaching during the new academic year.

#### Krakow Academics Prepare Strike

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] At its first post-vacation meeting on 16 September, the Jagiellonian University Senate unanimously passed a resolution that included, among others, the

following: ". . . expresses a deep concern about and is decidedly opposed to 1) changes made by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology in the draft of laws for the higher school system, which was developed by the social codification commission, and 2) conduct by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, and especially of the method used in consultation with society, in the work on the draft of laws for the higher school system.

"The ministry's conduct stirs up in full a justifiable protest on the part of the university community and threatens an explosion of serious conflicts and unrest among employees and students on the threshold of a new academic year.

"It is now doubtful whether the fulfillment of socially justifiable expectations, which the academic community connects with universally approved and until recently declared (also by the ministry) principles of self-government and autonomy for the institutions of higher education, will occur."

Let's recall that the last version of the draft of laws for the higher school system was agreed to in June of this year. As is known, it came about as a result of long-lasting bargaining and discussions, and it was a compromise in essence among academic communities, trade unions and student organizations. The ministry also identified with it, the proof of which was the agreement to elect university authorities according to new principles. In the same month, the social codification commission, which had worked under the direction of Prof Zbigniew Rasich, delivered the document to the minister at that time, Janusz Gorski. More than once at later meetings with rectors and at the Parliamentary Commission of Science and Technical Progress, the ministerial chief emphasized the necessity for quick transfer of the draft of laws to Sejm, so the laws could take effect on 1 October and sanction changes already existing in the universities.

The laws will not go into effect by this deadline. We posed the following question to Prof Josef Gierowski, rector of Jagiellonian University: when were you informed officially about the existence of the ministerial version of the draft of laws? It took place on 9 September at the moment he received both versions of the draft of laws from the ministry. The cover letter contained nothing regarding a request for consultation nor the view of the universities on the changes. And those changes, in the opinion of Prof J. Gierowski who actively participated in the work of the codification commission, are significant. There are 180 amendments; a portion of them is of little importance, but the most important ones are those which limit self-government and autonomy in the institutions of higher education. For example, unacceptable are changes in the principles for electing the rector and financing of the universities. In both cases, the right of final decision in effect would belong to the minister.

In the social version of the draft, the rector is elected by an electoral college; in the ministerial version, by the Senate. Moreover, after two vetoes, the minister could name his own candidate as rector. In the amended version, the authority of the Main Council of Higher Education (RGSW) was also reduced, as its right to approve the universities' financial plans was taken away. Moreover, in disputes between the Main Council and the minister, the arbitrator was to be the Council of State. The ministry proposes the premier who is its superior. Opposition within the Krakow academic community was also provoked by changes concerning, among others,

limitations on admissions for university study, division of authority between single-person and collective organs, supervision by the ministry of student organizations and rules regulating the work done by university teachers.

The minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology has the right, of course, to propose his own solutions and defend the ministry's position. It is too bad that he did not decide on these issues during the course of the draft's preparation by Prof Resich's commission. Now the academic community has been taken by surprise by the new draft of laws; thus, the opposition.

An expression of the opposition is the 8 September decision of the university commission from the Jagiellonian University's branch of the independent trade union (NSZZ) "Solidarity," which called for strike preparations and simultaneously appealed to all universities to undertake protest actions against the changes made in the draft laws.

According to Prof Tomasz Studnicki, a member of the university commission's presidium within the Jagiellonian University branch of "Solidarity," the protest was provoked not only by the contents and substance of the ministry's amendments but also by the very fact of their arbitrary introduction, without taking into account the opinion of the academic community, which is the real creator of the draft of new laws. Moreover, he said that he was of the opinion that the amendments could not be the subject of any negotiations.

Strike preparations were declared by other Krakow institutions of higher education; i.e., the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy (AGH), the Krakow Technical University, the Academy of Physical Education (AMP) and the Academy of Agriculture (AR). The remainder--the Academy of Medicine (AM), the Higher Pedagogical School (WSP), the Academy of Economics (AE) and other art colleges--limited themselves to support of the protest action. A similar position was taken by the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) and the Polish Teachers' Association (ZNP). The Executive Organ of the University Committee of PZPR also declared its support for the resolution passed by the Jagiellonian University Senate. Teletype messages of support are coming from other universities throughout the country, as well as from industrial plants like the Cegielski Works in Poznan. On Wednesday, 16 September, a meeting of the Intercollege Coordinating Committee for Protest Action, which was called the day before, took place at Collegium Novum. Representatives from all 11 institutions of higher education in Krakow and the Independent Association of Students (NZS) attended.

During the evening of 17 September in the Krakow headquarters of the Democratic Party's Urban Committee, a meeting of the Krakow academic community took place on the subject with delegates from the subcommittee on education.

We posed the following question to "Solidarity's" university commission: what will cause the cessation of the protest action? Answer: sending to Sejm of the Polish People's Republic the draft worked out by the codification committee. This is also the position of the Jagiellonian University Senate.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON CRIME PREVENTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 5 Aug 81 pp 23-25

[Article containing specialists' views on subjects covered at roundtable discussion: "A Concept and Practice in the Prevention and Combatting of Crime"]

[Note: The article on the roundtable discussion appeared in JPRS Translations on Eastern Europe, No 78619 of this series 28 Jul 81, pp 33-48]

[Text] With regards to the roundtable discussion "A Concept and Practice in the Combatting and Prevention of Crime," published in our magazine's issue No 12/1981, our editorial staff received some comments in which researchers, judges and other specialists in the field of applying the law expressed their opinions in connection with the subjects discussed and the proposals made by the roundtable participants for improving criminal laws and the means of applying the law and respecting the norms of social behavior. Within the context of the broad dialogue that should characterize any exchange of opinions, we are publishing in shortened form a portion of the letters received by our editorial staff.

Dr Ioan Vida, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: In dealing with the crime phenomenon, I believe that we must begin with the reality of the facts and the specific situation in each stage of development of society, correcting, on this basis, some theses that have become "ingrained" by virtue of authority and not by virtue of their scientific value. Such a view requires us to regard the prevention and combatting of antisocial acts as a permanent and firm action that must involve the theoretical factor in its pluridisciplinary dimension, as well as social practice and the totality of the implicated social agencies. One of the key problems of the efficiency of the struggle against antisocial acts is understanding the real causes that bring about or favor criminal behavior.

In carrying out the roundtable discussion, the participants made pertinent references to the causes and conditions which bring about or favor the commission of antisocial acts, leaving out, however, the problem of the general causality of crimes in the socialist system. I feel, first of all, that this problem must be clarified since the formulation of a scientific concept in preventing and combatting antisocial acts depends upon it. Furthermore, the idea still persists that crime in the socialist system has its causes outside of this system, that

it is caused by certain elements inherited from the preceding society. In my opinion, this view is refuted by experience. Actually, some of the criminals were born and raised in the socialist system. On another level, the socialist lawmaker was required to deem certain antisocial acts as crimes, crimes that were not recognized as such by the previous social system (for example, crimes punished by the Law Regarding the Protection of the Environment). In the case where we accept those "habits" inherited from the old social system as the general unique case of crime in the socialist system, we end up placing the causality exclusively on an hereditary level, which we believe does not correspond to reality or in the most direct manner implies the question: how come the great majority of the people in the socialist order do not have these antisocial "habits"?

These are several arguments that justify the fact that crime has a social-human nature and that it has a complex, general and particular causality, to which can be added those factors that favor it. Under these conditions, we believe that it is important to note the fact that crime represents the manifestation of a contradiction that appears between the manner in which man understands how to behave in society and the manner in which society wants man to behave within that society through the norms of criminal law. This is also the source of the need to observe the totality of factors that lead to the manifestation of this contradiction, some belonging to the biological and psychological fields and others to the social-cultural field. In the end, there is also importance in those contradictions of a political-juridical nature, used in the theory and practice of defining and punishing anti-social acts and in the realism and firmness of criminal law.

Victor Ursu, Institute of Juridic Research: I recalled from comrade Nicolae Popovici's comments some of the acute problems of juridic propaganda activities and for that reason I would like to express some of my opinions with regards to this. The unanimously admitted principle in law according to which if there is a violation of the law no one can avoid punishment or escape the consequences for this actions, is graphically shown by the efforts to popularize the laws and to initiate and carry out viable juridic propaganda activities tied to social practice and realities. I think that juridic propaganda activities are still insufficiently coordinated and are frequently launched at the initiative of certain non-specialized organs. The jurists association is carrying out broad actions of this nature, but it is not enough since no matter how many symposia and conferences are organized or how many thick papers on legal themes are published they are insufficient to achieve a general "capturing" of the interest of those people who work in production and need to understand legal provisions. In some cases, many such symposia have a pronounced festive nature and are meetings between specialists who are merely exchanging experiences and expounding on research themes in light of their own personal experiences. Certainly, I do not want to state that such events are useless. On the contrary, they summarize the results of direct, specific work in one field or another of social life, but they use less of the propaganda regarding adhering to the law.

The handbills and papers published at the county level suggestively entitled "Civics" or "He Who Knows the Law Does Not Err" and so forth, are not always accessible, with the reader not always finding in them useful legal explanations. In some of these materials many themes of a theoretical interest are published, such as: "Strengthening the Socialist Legal Order," "The Country's Laws - Our Laws" and so forth, which note problems we have become accustomed to. Of more use are the materials of the type: "We are at the Prosecutor's Office...," "Let Us Understand the Law, And the Obligations," "Useful Information for Young People," "Position Does Not Give the Right to Derogation" and so forth. Such materials present and explain to the reader the facts of life that he encounters daily.

From this point of view, which also comes out of the roundtable discussion, the integration of juridic propaganda into the general educational system has become an objective necessity, requiring the growth of its social-educational efficiency. The new requirements for applying the law and the complexity and dynamics of social relationships, as regulated through legal norms, bring about, in my opinion, a series of methodological reorientations that will take into account the basing of juridic propaganda to a greater degree upon the new civic requirements with regards to knowing and understanding the party's decisions and the country's laws and strictly applying them in the economic activities of the socialist units. An appropriate juridic propaganda activity is not being achieved just when an auditorium of 30 to 50 people listening to a theoretical presentation masters a certain amount of juridic knowledge or legal principles, but when they master the essence of a law and when they firmly work to eliminate certain illegalities and to stop abuses. "Extending" the presentation or a legal conference by revealing the ways to prevent certain crimes and by pointing out the diverse means of applying a law are what is required by efficient juridic propaganda activities.

I feel that the statements made in the roundtable discussion by comrade Ioan Salajan are important. Actually, through juridic propaganda we are not pursuing the citizens' strict, technical "specialization" in legal norms and provisions and in each article contained in normative acts. It has a priority orientation, as was stressed, in the direction of explaining the essence of a law and the intentions of the lawmakers and towards identifying the means of applying normative acts, as well as towards those means of preventing the violation of laws.

In order to achieve an efficient juridic propaganda activity, in my opinion you must take into consideration at least three decisive factors: who is organizing the activity, who supports it and who are its targets. Unfortunately, in activities for carrying out propaganda and preventing the violation of legal norms these factors for efficient are not always kept in mind. Thus, with regards to the organizers, these people frequently "fill" conference rooms in a formal manner with people selected at random (students or retirees), and are not sufficiently concerned about "convening" those who truly have a need to have the law explained to them and especially the consequences of violating the law.

Another aspect of the efficiency of juridic propaganda activities refers to those who are called upon to carry it out. Sometimes these people, who are otherwise specialists, limit themselves to dry speeches that say nothing and that abound in generalities or, in the other direction, in information that is strictly specialized, technical and dry. In order to have the best efficiency in juridic propaganda activities it is necessary, likewise, to keep in mind the targets of these activities.

Lt Col Alexandru Vulpescu, Ministry of the Interior: The roundtable discussion presented in ERA SOCIALISTA pointed out a series of especially interesting problems related to the crime phenomenon. I agree with the comments referring to the shortcomings that still exist in juridic propaganda activities and to certain deficiencies in the activities of the teaching faculty who have concentrated their efforts on transferring knowledge, frequently neglecting the formative-educational role of the teacher and the importance of the educational actions organized with the family, the first framework for the "socialization" of the individual and the first factor responsible for the future behavior of minors.

Along these lines, I feel that it is necessary for the actions for guidance and control organized in the schools of the county school inspectorates, the councils of the pioneer organizations and the committees of the Union of Communist Youth to pursue to a greater degree the achievement of educational tasks and the results of the work of the faculty personnel and the school units should also be evaluated through the prism of the young people's civic education.

The special school for work and re-education for minors, whose educational value was discussed in the roundtable, ensures the harmonious combination of the humanist principle of socialism with the firmness of punishment for dangerous acts.

The school personnel, professors, educators, specialist in instruction who have an appropriate professional and psychopedagogical training, are pursuing not only the achievement of the scholastic and professional instruction of minors and the development of their level of culture, but also their moral-civic and juridic training.

On the basis of the program-framework drawn up by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and the Ministry of the Interior, activities in these schools have a scientific nature, pursuing the socialization and re-educational of those enrolled. I feel, however, that the current legal regulations referring to the organization and operation of the special schools for work and re-education are to a good degree inadequate to fully accomplish the recovery activities for young offenders. Future criminal legislation should more clearly establish the stimulative and coercive system applied to the young people enrolled in these schools.

Society's concern for the re-education of minors is expressed through the legal framework covering the crimes committed by minors and the establishment of appropriate punishment: the internment of these people in special schools for work and re-education. Through the adopted re-educational system and through the system of carrying out educational measures, young offenders in these institutions are given favorable conditions for correction and social reintegration.

In some of these schools there also are minors who have committed especially serious crimes, for which the educational measures of internment in special schools for work and re-education for a period of 5 years does not correspond to the high degree of danger of the crime committed. "To be human does not mean being tolerant of offenders who strike at the values of society and who endanger the rights and interests of the citizens," noted comrade Nicolae Popovici during the discussions. For that reason, I feel that in future criminal legislation for especially serious crimes minors should be punished more severely and for a longer period of time than at the present. At the same time, we subscribe to the opinion expressed in the discussions that prison sentences should be applied to minors who commit especially serious crimes (as an alternative to educational measures and applied on a case-by-case system). Minors thus punished would be subjected to a differentiated sentence, not coming into contact with adult offenders, at the same time giving them an opportunity to acquire a professional training and to continue their school studies. Under these conditions, general prevention would increase noticeably and, at the same time, detention units would take on an educational role.

In another area, it must be pointed out that in the current re-education system the former young offender is still encountering troubles and difficulties in his socioprofessional reintegration. Despite the fact that the Office of Manpower has the legal obligation to forward assignments to jobs for the young person who is close to release, recently 55 young persons did not receive assignments. The lack of certainty about getting a job after completing a sentence that conforms to professional training, as well as the difficulties pointed out to us by some young people who were released to the Office of Manpower, has negative impacts upon socioprofessional integration. In order to achieve a thorough social reintegration, I think that these shortcomings must be effectively eliminated.

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**SERBIAN ORTHODOX 'BROTHERHOOD,' CLERICALISM DENOUNCED**

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 81 p 8

[Article by Djuro Kozar]

[Text] The illusory nature of the "Orthodox Christian communities" in the Zvornik-Tuzla see. Our Yugoslav society is struggling against clerical nationalism, not against freedom of religion.

In our Yugoslav socialist self-management society, where democracy has received its true place and is constantly expanding, the expression of religious belief is absolutely free, and the religious denominations perform their religious activities and rites without interference, as guaranteed by Yugoslav constitutions and legal regulations continually since the War of National Liberation. Whether a man wants to profess a faith or not profess a faith is his private affair, and no one has the right to force him to do one or the other. We are conscious of the fact that in the postwar period of development many churches have been restored or built, along with mosques and other sacred structures. We also know that religious education exists and that a certain number of people participate in religious rites, but at the same time, the number of atheists has been growing, representing a gradual liberation from religion, particularly from mysticism and fanaticism in faith as such.

**Great Religious Freedoms**

Naturally, all the religious denominations want to gather the greatest possible number of believers, and so using various methods, they strive to attract people, especially the youth. But that speaks also of something else. Specifically, part of the hierarchy in religious denominations, as well as some priests, imams and pastors, apparently are conscious of the secularization, or the weakening of their influence in society, since here in Yugoslavia the state and the church are separate, so that it is clearly established that the religious denominations must function within the bounds of freedom of religious profession.

The most recent practice shows that there are religious officials who, despite the fact that they know the meaning of their conviction, still have not abandoned the hope of attempting to influence matters that we regard as social, whenever the opportunity arises. The subject at hand includes attempts to politicize religious denominations, which is against the constitution and the law on the legal position of religious denominations. This is always dangerous, for it develops objectively

the elements of clericalism that it contains within itself. This is simply because religion and the religious convictions of people and the activities of the religious denominations are manipulated for political and antisocial purposes.

From that standpoint Yugoslav society fights against clericalism, but not against religious freedom. On the contrary, we advance those freedoms with the development of our democracy. We are against clericalism because, regardless of the form in which it appears, it brings political pressure on the interests of the working people and citizens. Our Yugoslav politics do not give an opportunity to clericalism in any way.

#### The Manipulation of Believers

It is known precisely where the freedom of religious conviction ends and where clericalism begins. A cleric also calls for religious freedom, but we have always known what is concealed behind the turbans, skull caps and vestments of individual religious officials, for in certain circumstances the last thing on their minds has been faith, but rather they were interested in something else-politics. How else, for example, could we explain the attempts to have religious values recognized as valid social standards of behavior, and the propagation and imposition of religious views as the exclusive possibilities for proper interpretation of the world and the ordering of relationships in it, the equating of religious and national values, the striving to have religious convictions proclaimed as equal in all spheres of life, and particularly in training and education, and the urge to have religious denominations regarded as intercessors between the believer and the society.

Even without more detailed analysis of these clericalist attempts, it is clear where these notions would lead, if they were not nipped in time. But apparently it is useless to point out to individuals in the confessional denominations the harmful consequences of any sort, even the least, extrareligious activity on their part, since they immediately interpret that as an attack on religious freedom while they willfully sew on the label of "martyr" which, supposedly, is inconceivable in their "naive worship of God."

Thus it is typical that clericalism always conceals itself in the cloak of the religious, defending its old positions, its old logic and moral message, and insisting on proclaiming this as a component part of the religious sentiment of the citizenry, while asserting its rights to present itself as the only true authority and judge. The separation of church and state is conceived by individuals in the religious denominations as the right to do whatever they please, to attack the social community and especially, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. From such activities and those attacks we can recognize the individuals who during the course of the War of National Liberation sinned against the people by sprinkling the quizzing army with holy water, or even fighting openly, with rifle in hand, against the national liberation army.

Throughout the postwar period in all religious denominations, individual religious teachers have been involved in conjuring up the phantoms of the past, and not rarely they have given the blessing to an occasional phantom, all under the label of reincarnation and the like.

To certain individuals in the Serbian Orthodox Church not even that is sufficient, so that they have turned their efforts to the formation of some sort of completely different "Orthodox Christian community of the Holy Mother of God of the hierachial regency of Bijeljina." At the beginning of March this year the work of such a "brotherhood" was organized in Bijeljina, under the wing of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and thereafter in Pozarnica near Tuzla as well. It is a matter, in truth, of a so-called pietist movement, which lies outside the bounds of the constitutional rights of religious conviction and is a flagrant attempt at politization under the protection of a religious denomination.

#### What Exactly Are the "Brotherhoods?"

When the practice and behavior of individuals in and around the Orthodox Christian communities are examined, then one can conclude that this creation has nothing at all to do with the church, and that it is least of all a "peaceful community of apolitical believers." Rather, it is a clerical nationalist gathering. To be specific, a precondition for joining that "brotherhood" is to cease all other social activity and to treat adherents of other religious faiths as "enemies of Orthodoxy," which from the religious point of view as well as others is inhuman and in every sense, is harmful and dangerous, as well as socially impermissible.

The newspaper PRAVOSLAVLJE (Orthodoxy) has tried in all possible ways to explain how the pietist brotherhoods are groups of believers, for, To claim, "to be a pious member means nothing other than to be a good and proper Christian." They add that the pietist movement has a renaissance role in the Serbian Orthodox Church, that it represents "the return to Christ and to his church," that "the plant of faith has set its roots, branched out and blossomed, and brought fruit." This idyllic pastoreale, however, is lost after the evaluation, also found in PRAVOSLAVLJE, that "the pietist movement is also a reaction of the simplehearted, popular soul against everything that is alien to Orthodoxy." Obviously the militant spirit cannot be removed from these words, we would only ask why and against what they are directed.

Thus the "divinely inspired apostles" from PRAVOSLAVLJE open their efforts to bring the Serbian Orthodox Church to take "a step beyond the traditional ritualistic, impoverished, and paganized, beyond the Christmas straw-burning rite and the family name day celebration, to something else, and that something else is, supposedly, represented by the "Orthodox Christian communities," where with the participation of priests, lay persons and the people they will glorify among other things the last letter of bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic, the pro-Chetnik emigre and the sworn enemy of our country. Velimirovic sent this last letter from the United States of America before his death. They will read his works, published abroad, and poison the socialist community, brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav people and nationalities.

Bishop Velimirovic calls our Yugoslav socialist self-management development Golgotha, and says "Serbia has been crucified on a cross and is a martyr, and the cross is being borne furtively, while the pietist brothers, the "faithful servants of Christ," openly call to "new victories." A song with such content is far from peace and apolitical aims, but it is close to what is usually called counter-revolutionary.

YUGOSLAVIA

DAMAGE TO ISLAMIC GRAVES IN ZENICA DISCUSSED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 81 p 7

[Article by "F. Mdz."]

[Text] The Presidium of the SAWP Opstina Conference of Zenica discusses the destruction of tombstones in the old Islamic graveyard at Gornja Vraca.

The Presidium stressed the need for quick implementation of the resolution of the opstina assembly concerning graves on the basis of which graveyards, as communal objects, are to be turned over for maintenance to the appropriate organization of associated labor or local community.

Zenica, 16 September. By considering information on the destruction of tombstones at the village of Gornja Vraca at its meeting last night, the SAWP Opstina Conference Presidium of Zenica has confirmed its own tasks that originate in the evaluations and positions taken by the Republic Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Bosnia and Herzegovina on further implementation of social policy toward religion and the activities of religious denominations.

The presidium issued a communique on the subject which stated:

During the night of 14-15 August of this year, identified individuals smashed a number of tombstones in the old Islamic graveyard in the village of Gornja Vraca.

In considering the causes of this act, the Presidium has learned that as early as 1976, an initiative was begun among the citizens of the "Nedjo Radic" local community at Perin Han to expand and fence the Orthodox graveyard that borders the old Islamic graveyard. The same year, a request was sent to the responsible agency of the Zenica opstina assembly seeking city planning approval. On 12 October 1979 the "Prostor" labor organization presented the technical city planning conditions for expanding the Orthodox graveyard on the bordering land parcel (the old Islamic graveyard), and on 8 February 1980 the Opstina secretariat for city planning issued its decision on city plan approval for the proposal.

Upon receiving this document, the "Nedjo Radic" local community of Perin Han formed, on 3 December 1980, a council to collect money and organize all matters related to the maintenance and expansion of the Orthodox graveyard.

The Presidium stated that the overall activity to obtain and issue documentation on property and legal relationships had been conducted without informing the Zenica opstina assembly's commission for religious denominations relations and without consultations in the section for social questions of religion of the Zenica SAWP opstina conference.

Without waiting for a decision on property and legal relationships by responsible agencies, certain individual members of the council for maintaining and expanding the Orthodox graveyard, with the help of officials of the Serbian Orthodox church, and in the name of the local community's self-management agencies, negotiated in writing with the Islamic community council on the ownership of the land. Thereafter, some members of the Islamic community council organized actions to maintain the old Islamic graveyard. All of these actions preceded the destruction of the tombstones.

At an expanded session of the presidium of the Nedjo Radio local SAWP conference in Perin Han, held on 17 August 1981, the act and the perpetrators of destroying the tombstones were sharply condemned. Both the working people and the citizens condemned them at the same time in meetings and gatherings of the SAWP units on the territory of the Nedjo Radic local community; they strongly demanded that the guilty parties be punished, and that the matter of responsibility of all those who contributed to the development of this situation be investigated.

In analyzing this incident, the opstina conference presidium of the Zenica SAWP organization also sharply condemned the act and its perpetrators for destroying the tombstones.

In expressing its deep conviction that this disagreeable event will be condemned by all working people and citizens of the Yugoslav sociopolitical community, the presidium also considered that it represents a precedent in the area where it occurred, as well as in the entire sociopolitical community, where good relations and unity have traditionally been nurtured, developed and strengthened on the basis of brotherhood and unity of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.

In considering the consequences of this incident, the opstina conference presidium of the Zenica SAWP organization stated that it was caused by shortcomings in the work of individuals in responsible opstina assembly agencies, self-management agencies of the local community, and individuals in the ranks of the religious denominations.

The presidium stressed the need for more rapid implementation of the opstina assembly's resolution on graveyards, on the basis of which graveyards, as communal objects, are to be transferred for maintenance to the appropriate organization of associated labor or local community.

Considering that this disagreeable event, in the environment in which it occurred, did not ruin the good relations of the community, the presidium pointed up the need for markedly greater involvement by all organized socialist forces and institutions of the political system of socialist self-management to more effectively resolve all matters of general social interest, in a way that is in harmony with the established policy of the area so that in the future such or similar occurrences can be avoided.

YUGOSLAVIA

ENROLLMENT RESULTS NOTED AT KOSOVO UNIVERSITY

AU061816 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1603, 20 Sep 81 pp 30-32

[Report by Slobodanka Ast]

[Excerpts] Although the new term at the Pristina University begins on 1 October, the colleges are humming like beehives with activity: Delayed examinations are being taken, the third enrollment round for freshmen is concluding, applications are being submitted for dormitory places. There are no students yet in the freshly painted student dormitories, which are almost idyllically clean, and the grass has been freshly cut too.

Although the final results have not yet become known, we have learned that 65 young men and women have been denied enrollment at the university. However, perhaps more concern is caused by the report that several hundred secondary school students whose names are on the lists of the most active and most vociferous demonstrators have not even tried to enroll. The question also remains of what to do with the remaining 10,000 or so secondary school students who have not applied for college admission, although they graduated in June. According to the latest figures of the provincial employment institute, about 20,000 secondary school graduates are waiting for jobs.

All the Departments Remain

Reports on the number of students who in the period did not follow the league of communists line should reach the colleges from the communes by the end of the month. These students will register for the courses according to special criteria, depending on the level of involvement in hostile demonstrations. The college doors will remain closed to them for 1-5 years. This delicate business has yet to come, it is said at the Kosovo University.

The big wave of students in the social sciences has finally been stopped this year; 10 percent fewer freshmen than last year have enrolled in the faculties of economics, law and philosophy. This year, there were more student places in the faculty of engineering (12 percent) and the faculty of science and mathematics (20 percent). The faculties of metallurgical engineering and of medicine, because of their space limitations, enrolled the same number of students as last year. However, the number of students from other communities has been reduced 20 percent at the Kosovo University.

The continuation of groups with Serbo-Croatian as the teaching language at several faculties was until recently a great unknown of the enrollment this year, as well as a sensitive political problem. The self-managing interest community for vocational training this summer recommended that the letter of the law should be strictly adhered to: It provides that groups for which less than 20 students apply should be abolished. At the insistence of the university, this intention was dropped, and the Serbo-Croatian departments will not be abolished, although a very small number of Serbs and Montenegrins applied for some of them--Russian, French, Oriental studies, mathematics, physics, chemistry, the metallurgical college in Mitrovica. The rector says that there is no danger that these departments will be abolished because it is expected that all the groups will be more or less filled in the third round of enrollments.

Thus the new school term inevitably broached the sensitive question of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. The wave does not seem to be abating. As Mirko Cukic writes in PRISTINA JEDINSTVO, in the Pristina commune alone, 482 requests for emigration from Kosovo were submitted between 23 July and 2 September. We heard, for instance, that in an eighth grade class of the ACA Marovic elementary school, there were 12 fewer pupils this September. It is not known exactly how many students have left, but the first incomplete statistical reports show that about 500 of them are now at the colleges and higher schools in Belgrade, Niš and Kragujevac.

Some teachers have been removed from Kosovo secondary schools. A certain number of teachers have been sentenced. The process of differentiation at the colleges is moving at a somewhat slower and quieter pace. It has been established, the rector says, that no university teacher participated in the disorders. Some have been called to account because they were passive in the past period. There are only 7 or 8 of them according to the present assessments.

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YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAV DELEGATE DISCUSSES POLISH TU CONGRESS

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 81 p 4

[Interview with Josip Franic, member of the Presidium of the Council of Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and head of that federation's delegation to the Congress of the Polish Trade Union Solidarity 5-7 September 1981, by RAD, organ of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation: "Solidarity With All the Socialist and Progressive Forces of Poland"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Congress of the Trade Union Solidarity, the first part of which ended 2 days ago, has aroused quite a bit of controversial polemics and has attracted the attention of the public. You were at that congress, can you give us some of your assessments or impressions?

[Answer] We spent 3 days at the congress, the time for which we were invited, though the congress lasted longer. As is well known, the congress was planned in two phases: the first one 5 to 7 September, and the second from 26 September to 3 October. It was expected the report would be heard in the first part of the congress, the bylaws would be adopted, the leadership would be elected, and various procedural issues would be settled. The second part of the congress seems to have been planned for the debate on the programmatic orientation and adoption of the program. In the first 3 days, while our delegation was at the congress, only the report was heard and the speeches of the foreign delegates, and various procedural issues were settled. The bylaws were not adopted, nor was the leadership elected. It was pointed out that there were more than 350 amendments to the draft of the bylaws, and that there was difficulty in examining such a large number of proposals in such a brief time. It was therefore proposed to the congress that the Commission for the Bylaws and also the Commission for the Program, with 12 subcommissions, continue their intensive work up to the beginning of the second part of the congress. There were no very significant decisions then. There was talk among the delegates about the difficulties the congress was encountering, and there were also various dilemmas about which direction to take in view of the different currents within Solidarity.

[Question] But the congress has adopted the bylaws and the so-called appeal to the workers of the East European countries, as well as a resolution calling for the draft of the law on self-management, which is before the Polish Sejm, to be put to a referendum?

[Answer] I read that in the press here in Belgrade, just as you did. We know from wire service reports that the first part of the congress lasted another 3 days. We do not know whether the bylaws were adopted according to the procedure envisaged or by some abbreviated procedure. Nor do we know the basic characteristics of the organizational structure, since we did not have a copy of the draft of the bylaws. In talks and contacts with various delegates and members of the leadership of Solidarity we did hear that they had no intention at this point to create a structure within Solidarity based on crafts and trade. That is, the tasks which confront them, they say, are primarily of a political nature, so that regional trade union organizations better suits them in performing those tasks. They mention as part of those tasks democratization of the political system, introduction of self-management, abolishing the "monopoly over the news media," reform of the economic system, and so on.

[Question] What can you say about the appeal to the workers of the East European countries?

[Answer] You know that the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions has always staunchly defended the right of the working class of each country to determine on its own the physiognomy, role and tasks of its own trade union movement without interference from outside and without foreign formulas. We have advocated, then, respect for the right to one's own strategy of development and have opposed every attempt to deliver lectures on other trade union organizations and put labels on them. This position of ours remains unchanged, and we in fact expressed it in our speech at the congress. Since we have been consistently against every interference, it follows that we are also opposed to this one.

[Question] If as you say you attended only one-half of the first half of the congress, and you did not even receive drafts of the documents, what was the purpose of your participation and the participation of the other delegations at the congress?

[Answer] We and the other delegations attended the congress for just the time for which we were invited by the host, i.e., for 3 days. That was supposed to be the duration of the first part of the congress. The organization which invited us--Solidarity--says that its membership amounts to more than 9 million Polish workers. It is duly registered by the laws of its country as a legal trade union organization and is a partner with which the Polish government is trying to find a common language in resolving various problems. The premier greeted the congress and read a message from Rakowski, deputy chairman of the council of ministers. The Polish government back in June named Lech Walesa, president of Solidarity, as Poland's worker delegate in this year's meeting of the General Conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva. Incidentally, we should mention that delegations of the other two Polish trade union groups--the craft unions, which sent their delegation, and the independent unions, which sent a telegram of greetings, were invited to the congress.

The congress was attended by 26 delegations of trade unions of various ideological and political commitments and international affiliation. Along with the two world trade union federations with headquarters in Brussels and the International Labor Organization, there was also a delegation from the Japanese /Sohi/.

which is autonomous, i.e., is not a member of a world trade union federation, representatives of all three large Italian trade union federations, two of which are members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the third, the CGIL [General Confederation of Italian Labor], is autonomous, then the French CGT [General Confederation of Labor], which is a member of the World Trade Union Federation, with headquarters in Prague, the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], which is autonomous, and delegations of other trade unions from western Europe, Canada and Latin America.

It is understood that presence at the congress did not signify for any trade union organization, including ourselves, any sort of automatic agreement with a particular political or ideological orientation or with any specific decision. By our presence and statements at the congress we expressed our solidarity with all the socialist and other progressive forces of Poland on the road toward overcoming the difficulties that exist today in that country.

[Question] What actually happened with the invitations to the trade unions of the East European socialist countries?

[Answer] We don't know that any official announcement has been made on that. In contacts with certain officials of Solidarity we heard differing versions: one, that those trade unions had been invited by the mere fact that an invitation had been sent to the World Trade Union Federation; the other that an invitation had also been sent individually to all the trade unions of the socialist countries when the leadership of Solidarity realized, 2 days before the congress, that the delegation of the World Trade Union Federation would not come, and then again we were told that the trade unions of the socialist countries had not been invited on time because the position had supposedly been taken in the leadership of Solidarity that the trade unions of the East European countries were not independent and therefore should not be invited to the congress. It was also presented to us an argument that the trade unions of the socialist countries are constantly attacking Solidarity.

In our speech at the congress we emphasized our resoluteness to continue in future to combat political and ideological exclusivity and discrimination, since we are firmly convinced, and we have seen countless confirmations of this, that this gives rise to great damage to the international trade union movement and the interests of the working class.

[Question] What is your impression on the whole of the congress?

[Answer] You yourself have said that we attended a small part of the congress at which nothing exceptional took place. All the decisions which you have already mentioned were taken during the extension of the proceedings of the congress. At the same time defining the programmatic goals and setting forth the political platform on which Solidarity intends to develop its activity were left to the second part of the congress. The same applies to selection of the leadership. I think it would be immodest under such circumstances to make an evaluation or, as you put it, to give my "impression as a whole." Only when the congress completes its work, when all the significant facts are known about the

programmatic orientation, will it be possible to draw a conclusion as to how much the congress might have contributed to stabilizing the situation in Poland.

[Question] In Warsaw you also met with chairman (Sziszak) and other members of the Commission for Consensus of the Craft Unions. What is the position of the craft unions and what was the aim of your meeting?

[Answer] As is well known, after the events last August the Federation of Polish Trade Unions disintegrated and Solidarity gradually took shape. Some of the theretofore craft unions, which were also disintegrating, reorganized, removed their previous leaders and established mutual links through the Commission for Consensus. These trade unions do not have a regional and horizontal structure, but are preparing to set one up. At their invitation, which was delivered in Gdansk, we made a quite brief visit and exchanged information with one another, on which occasion we were especially interested in the situation of the Polish trade union movement and how the craft unions saw their role in these circumstances.

That visit of ours, like our presence at the Solidarity congress incidentally, was a logical consequence of our policy of cooperating as a matter of principle with all trade unions, and our attitude is one of due respect for all of them. I would recall, for example, that we are collaborating with four trade union federations of India, three in Japan, six in Sri Lanka, three in Italy, two in France, three in Spain, two in Belgium, three in Venezuela, and so on. Regardless of significant differences that exist among us because of political and ideological commitments, membership in international trade union federations, and attitudes toward the military and political blocs and their policy, we manage to find issues of common interest to the working class of all countries and the world as a whole, and on that basis we develop fruitful and useful cooperation. Experience has confirmed that only on that basis is it possible to develop cooperation in the international trade union movement.

[Question] What are the things which divide Solidarity from the craft unions?

[Answer] I would not be able to offer a complete answer to that question at this point. Both trade union groupings are in a phase of getting set up, of preparing and adopting bylaws and programmatic documents. In the absence of official documents, it would be difficult and risky to draw conclusions about the differences between them. We did hear certain overall remarks by Solidarity to the effect that the trade unions do not sufficiently "protect the interests of the workers," since they are excessively tied to the government's policy, while on the other hand the craft union said that the leadership of Solidarity excessively politicizes various problems and is too much concerned with political problems of the working class and too little with its real and concrete problems. However, it is up to them to formulate both their own views and also their differences and the ways of overcoming them in the interest of the working class and people of Poland.

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